

THE CENSURE
of a loyall Subiect: 19

Vpon CERTAINE
noted Speach & behauiours

of those fourteen notable Traitors, at the place of their
executions, the xx. and xxi. of September, last past, 26

As also, of the Scottish Queen,


now (thanks be to God) cut off by iustice, as the
principal Roote of al their treasons. On Wed-
nesday the 8. of Februarie 1585.

wherein is handled matter of necessarie instruction
and comfort for al dutifull Subiectes: especially,
the multitude of ignoraunt people.



Fear GOD? be true to thy
Prince: and obey the Lawes.

At LONDON

 Printed by Richard
Lones, dwelling at the signe

of the Rose and the Crowne, neere
Holborne bridge. 1585.

Curious Reader: my good friend M. C. W. at his departure into the
Country, left this most honest worke to be censured by me: being
right well assured, by the continuance of our true friendships that
I would not deceiue him with a flattering iudgment, and (trust me) vpon a
considerate reading, I found it a little booke, containing a large testimony
of his loyaltie to his Prince and country, a sweet comfort, and most sound
counsaile for good subiectes: concluding by many fair examples of Trai-
tors soule endes, that the reward of treason is destruction, and after death,
lasting infamie. The matter agreeing with the condition of this trouble-
some time, I haue aduentured to possesse thee with the benefit thereof,
before I made account vnto him of my liking: which is, that no good sub-
iect can mislike the same, and I made the more hast herein: because some
wicked persons that will not be admonished, haue now by new conspiracy
desired our publike sorrowe, and by their discouery haue brought an v-
niuersall ioy into the shew of God. Give God thanks, for his wonder-
full preservation of her Maiestie, and the confusion of her enemies, serue
him, and read this booke, which trulie promiserh thee, that such miscreant
persons shall neuer prosper in their deuices. No more but fear God, and
thou shalt fare well.

Thy louing friend, T C.

Printed by Richard
Iones dwelling at the signe

To the right honorable, Sir

William Cecil, Knight, Baron of Burleigh,
Lord high Treasurer of England, and one
of the Queenes Maiesties most honora-
ble and prudent privie counsellors, long
continuance of honour and
prosperous estate.



Right honorable and prudent Lord, the
vngtracious Emperor Commodus, vpon
the aculation of a guilty conscience,
caused foureteen or fifteen discreete Ro-
man Gentlemen, to be thrown into the
riuier of Tyber, for no other offence, but because they
soberly talked, of the the vertues of the good Emperor
Marcus Aurelius, his father: alleadging that they could
not praise his father without the reproofing of himselfe;
and certainly, although Commodus did euil, he spake
the trueth; for the comendation of vertue, is euermore
a reproch to vice: which principall (right honorable)
considered of the one part, by your manifold, seruices
done vnto the Queenes most excellent maiestie, to her
blessed realm, & generally to the true church of God:
and of the other side, weyed by the most odious trea-
sons, conspired by many rotten subiectes, whereof iu-
stice lately hath cut off certaine of the principall, whose
vile purpose reached to the life of her sacred Maiestie,
the subuersion of their countrey, and generall callami-
ty in the church of God: no other conclusion can fol-
lowe, but that the reuerence of your publique seruice,
will alwayes reuiue the hatred of their treasons, and
that the reproch of their treasons, will neuer suffer the

The Epistle dedicatorie.

reuerence of your fidelitie to his. Therefore (most graue Lord) desirous to honour (with all duefull affection) your godly vertues; as the comforte of all good men: and also to acknowledge some especiall fauours shewen vnto my selfe, vnder your sound protection, I present (for the generall instruction of my countrey men, the subiects of England) my obseruances of certain noted speach and behauiours, of those fourteene notable Traitors, which lately suffered for their treasons: trusting that this censure, by the sentence of all good Subiects, will merite the acceptance of my former bookes, which hether to haue escaped the disgrace of publique reproche. Protesting, in the behalfe of my writing, that my desire hath euermore bene, to instruct all men, and not to injure the worst of the wicked. And now to conclude, that vertue may haue her sample by your Lordship, and vice her shame by these traitors, in the name of experience, I aduise all men, whose heades chine aboue the height of their present conditions, to make loyall and honest actions, the ladders of their aduancement: which will commend them with a beloued life, or an honorable death: whe treason is the hatchet that seuereth life, and ioyneth infamie vnto death. The Lord be with your Lordshippe in all your affaires: for whose health and honorable prosperitie, the good subiectes of England continually pray.

Humbly at your Lordships

commandement.

G. W.

of, shun
ough a
ce

A Censure, in forme of a

Dialogue, of certaine noted speech and beha-
viours, of fourteene notable Traitors,

at the place of their execution. &c.

Walkes, a godlie drunke,

The speakers, { VVeston, a discret Gentleman.

Wilcocks, a substantial Clothier

Wick

Neighbour Wilcocks, you are well

welcome home.

Wilk. I humbly thanke your wor-

shippe. VVest. What is the best netwes at

London?

Wilk. The best netwes, are, fourteene of those

ranke traitors that sought to bereaue the Quenes

most excellent Maestie of her life, (which God long

preserue) haue made their confessio at the gallowes;

for my eies saw their traitterous hart's burned, and

hodielesse heads aduanced to the view and comtoite

of manye thousands of people.

Walk. You saue a happie sight, for the quiet-

nesse and safetie of the Quenes most excellent ma-

testie, and general comfort for al good subiects, and

a fearefull example to al traitors: but for as much

as they offended in the highest degree of treason, as

traitors resolved to kill the Quenes Ma, (whose life,

almight

23

almightie God long preserve, to loose her naue, to cloy the ordinance, to kill some of her maiesties honorable and counsell, to loose a Gentleman the like, and what in them lay, to procure a forraigne inuasion: all which, being treasons of such danger, as the least of them closed by the doores of mercie: it seemeth conueniente, that their executions shoulde be with more clemency then the common iudgement of Traitors.

Valk. Their iudgements and executions were alike, saue that the first seuen were executed with lesse fauour, then the latter seauen.

VValk. What difference was there in their executions?

VValk. Their iudgements were to be drawn to the place of execution, there to be hanged vntill they were halfe dead, their bowels to be brente before their faces, &c. And truly the first seauen, as the most malicious (if there be anye difference in treason) were executed somewhat neere the severity of their iudgement: the other seauen were so fauourably used, as they hung vntill they were euery altogether dead, before prest of their iudgement was executed.

VValk. Their treasons were so odious as Perillus Bull or the extreamest crueltie that policy may inuent, wold be too milde to punish them: so that the least fauour that might be shewen vnto them, was a token of exceeding mercie in her Maiesty, and mildenes in the iustice of England.

West. There were neuer people gouerned with more mercie, then the people of England vnder the reigne of our moste gracious Quene Elizabeth, (whose

whose prosperitie the Lord long continue: and truly I heard many wise men say, that the greatnesse of her maiesties mercie (applyed to an olde proverbe) Ouer much praise spoileth a Citie: is verie dangerous to the peace of England: and some have taken example by a fable of a frozen serpent, that a pitiful husbandman found, which he reuiued at his fire: but as soone as the Serpent had gotten strength, it stong the husbandmans children: euen so these holowefubrics (I pray God I may not safely name most papists) which run into many dangers of the lawe: yet her Maiesties mercie so fauoureth them, as it is to be feared they liue, but to recouer strength to persecute her maiesties subjects.

walk. In very deede, mercie breedeth presumption in the wicked: but no doubt almighty God (that for the rescue, which rained upon the earth, drowned all the world, saue onely Noah and his famelpe) is so well pleased with mercie, as he feldome suffereth it to be the cause of inconuenience, especially, where temperate iustice is ioyned with mercy: and although the example of the pitiful husbandman and the frozen serpent, may be well applied vnto her Maiesties mercie, and the papists malice: yet when the serpent stong his children, the husbandman grievously heate him: euen so, when these kinde of people, turne her Maiesties mercie to publique disturbance, Justice will doe her office, so that they shall hardly escape the censure of her maiesties lawes.

Yet God bring them to shame and confusion

Comparisons
by her maiesties
mercie.

The beginning of presumption is mercie and the end is destruction.

but Neighbour Willocks, I pray you shew us the names of the Traitors, and manner of these executions.

The place of their execution was sometime the meeting place to consult of their treasons.

Wilk. Upon the twentieth day of September, being tuesday, John Ballard a Priest, and first pessenger of Babington to these odious treasons, was laide alone vpon a hurdell and six others, two, and two vpon a hurdell, were drawne from Tower hill, through the citie of London, vnto a field at the vpper end of Holborne, hard by the high way side to St. Giles: where was erected a scaffold convenient for the execution, and there vpon a pale of galloves so high, and withal, the place was so rayled to keepe off horsemen, as the people might plainly see the execution.

West. I am much delighted if there were not a great multitude of people assembled to see the execution.

The multitude shewed no motion of pittie at the execution of the traitors.

Wilk. I cannot number the thousands, but by computation there were able men enough, to giue battaile to a strong enemy: but disesteeming respectallie regarded, that although the assembly were wonderfull great, and the traitors all goodly personages, clothed in silkes: a ruelle was furnished to moue pittie: that the order of their execution, was a fearfull spectacle; yet so continuall of their cruelties was so setted in every mans heart, as there appeared no sadness or alteration among the people: at the mangling and quartering of their bodies yea, the whole multitude, without any signe of commiseration greedily beheld the spectacle from the first to the last.

Cruller

Walk. Truly, they that beare dutiful hearts towards the safetie of the Quenes Maiestie, & peace of their countrey, would not but greatlie reioyce in their destruction, which sought the general subuersion of the estate, beside the kind affection & motherly loue y^e her Maiestie published by her gracious letters, vnto the L. Mayor and State of London: wherein her Maiestie protesteth (and sundrie of her gracious proceedinges fullie witnesseth,) that she desired no longer to liue, then while in the whole course of her Maiesties gouernment she carried her selfe in such sort, as might not onely continue their loue and goodwill, but also encrease the same, are causes strong enough to commaunde the multitude to reioyce in nothing more, then in the destruction of those that pretend any hurte vnto her Maiesties person. But good neighbour wilcocks continue your purpose concerning their execution.

Her Maiesties louing affection, towards her good subjects.

Walk. The first day the Traitors were all placed vpon the scaffold, that the one might beholde the rewarde of his fellowes treason.

The order of the Traitors executions.

Ballard the Priest, who was the first broacher of this treason: was the first that was executed, & after that his bowels & traitterous heart were throtton into the fire, (his head severed from his shoulders,) was set vpon the toppe of the Gallies.

John Ballard, the Priest, executed.

West. By the way I praye you what confession made this traitterous Priest, at the time of his death.

Walk. He denied not his treason, died an obstinate

obstinate papist, & in his protestation, he doubt-
fullie said, if he had offended *h*er Maiestie, or a-
ny mā els he was soie, & so cōditionally desired
forgiuenes: & to declare (at full) his traitorous
mūd, he said, I am soie I haue bin so scādalous,
but most soie I haue bin so remis in my delings

Wilk. The malicious affection of his heart to-
wards the *Q*. maiestie, appeared euē in the trē-
bling passage of death: *h* whereas his treasons
were so impious, odious, & dānable, as the most
wicked, (I meane his confederates for the most
part) confessed as the cōmon fame goeth, *h* they
exceeded the greatnesse of her Maiesties mercie
which may not be measured, wher there is any
measure in offending, & yet in his desire of remis-
sion at her Maiesties hands, he added this cōdi-
tiō, (if) as one that doubted if he had offended her
highnesse: wel, leaue we this dissembling traitor
a pray to the crows, & his soule to Gods iudge-
mēt: good neighbour on with your tale to *h* next.

Ballards so-
phisticall as-
king of the
Q Maiestie
forgiuenesse.

Anthony
Babington,
Esquire.
executed.

A note of
Babingtons
pride.

Wilk. Next vnto this priest, Anthony Babing-
ton was made ready to the Gallowes, and in
euery point was handled like vnto Ballard.

well. A little may be the mone, had was the
best: but what obserued you in his end:

Wilk. A signe of his former pride, for where-
as the rest, through the cogitation of death were
exercised in prayer vpon their knees, and hare
headed, he whose tourne was next, stode on his
fete with his hat on his head, as if he had bene
but a beholder of the execution, concerning his
religion he died a papist, his treasons were so
odious, as the sting of consciēce perswaded him

to acknowledge himselfe to be a most grievous trespasser against God & the Queenes maiesty.

West. I wonder that men are so bewitched with the inticements of these Iesuits, as they holde it a holly matter to lay violent hands vpon the Lordes annointed: & at their death their owne consciences perswade the, that the immaginations of such wickednes is damnable. Note this controuersie.

Wilk. Pride, enuie, and ambition are the rootes of treason, the body of treason is murder and all that mischief may deuise, the fruites of treasons are ruines of kingdomes and common wealthes: the generall reward of treason is the destruction of traitors: and for that, shame and perpetual infamie lead the to the Gallowes: to collo; if it were possible their treason they make religion their ground of rebellion: and with this holly shoue strengthen themselves, but when Justice hath deliuered them to the Hangman, death witnesseth their wickednes before their consciences, and then the feare of Hell maketh the openly to confesse the matter to be damnable, which they took to be a holly ground of rebellio. Causes of rebellions.

West. I am well satisfied, now good neighbour, forward with the rest.

Wilk. Next vnto Babington, Sauadge was made ready for the execution.

West. This notable traitor (as y same goeth, was y ma y referred vnto Gifford at Paris, & by the consenatiō of y english fugitiues at Rhemes, was resolved to kill y Queenes Maiestie, whose defence the God of hostes euermore be, John Sauadge, Gent. executed.

It is likewise said that vpon the apprehension of Ballard the priest, Babington hastened this Savadge to dispatch his resolution: and that he only deferred the matter, but for making of a court like sute of apparell.

Gods providence in frustrating of Savadge his resolution.

The odiousnes of treason in Gods sight

Tirants miraculously preferred from Traitors hands.

Walk. God by sundrie examples, preserveth the innocent from the violent handes of the wicked, even in the pride and greatest hope of their purposes. Hamon erected a Gallows for Mardocheus the Jewe, and he and his tenne sonnes suffered therupon, the false Judges had got sentence of death against chaste Susanna, but by devine providence the stones dashed out their owne braines: but where the practize tendeth to the murder of annoiuted Princes, the odiousnesse of the matter, so highly offendeth the Maiestie of God, as he miraculously hath defended notable Tyrants, from the murdering swordes of traitors. Comodus was a wicked Emperour, and to kill him the traitor Quintianus waighted at the entring of the Amphiatre: his daggar was ready, his heart was resolute, and his hande was striking the stroke, the Traitor cried, This the Senate seendeth thee: by which fore-warning, Quintianus was staid, and the Emperour escaped unhurt. The day before Scevinus determined to kill the Archtyrant Nero he put an old rustie Daggar to grinding: he made his testament, he franchised his bonde men, and got robbers in a readines to wrappe woundes in: by which tokens Milcheu his servante, gathered, he wente about some waightie purpose, and

And so accused him to the Emperoy: Scuellinaius straight waies confessed that his entent was to haue slaine the Emperoy. If God plucketh wit and pꝛudence from Traitors, that purposed to kill such notable Tyrantes, it is constantlye to be beleueed, that with the shield of his strength he wil defend righteous pꝛinces: among whom our most gracious Elizabeth is crowned with the soueraigne renown of vertue, in which dignitie the king of kings long continue her Maie-
 stie. The murder of a pꝛince is so odious, as nature crieth out against it. King Crassus had a yong sonne that from his birth was mute, and yet when one of king Cyrus Souldiours taking him for a comon person, was redy to kill him: the infant cried out I kill him not, for he is the king my father. Aliben Ragel in his Iudicials, reporteth a stranger matter of a kinges sonne of his Countrey, that brake forth of his mothers in-
 trals to giue his father warning of his enemies & presentlie after his birth cried out. I am born in an vnfortunate howe, to be the messenger of no better tidings, then that my father the king is in present danger, to loole both his life and Kingdome. Which notice signified, the infante presently died: we hereby perceiue howe the person of an anointed Pꝛince, is so sacred as nature maketh a passage for suckling babes and Domb personnes to deliuer the same from danger and withall the traitor is so open to detection, as the preacher saith to the traitor, a bird of the aire shall betray thy voice, and with her
 feathers

Mute persons
and yong
babes cry out
against the
murder of
Princes.

Peter Messire
in his Cron.
of memorable things.
Lib. 1, Cap. 33

Eccle. 10,

Num. 16.

Roma. 13.

leathers she shall bewray thy wordes. Dathan, Corach, and Abiran, they and all that they had, went down quicke into hell because of their rebellio, which is a great witnes of the saying of S. Paule, who forbiddeth to resist against the Magistrate. For he that resisteth receiveth vnto him selfe damnation. And certainly whosoever marketh the sequel of treason, shall find an hundred examples to one, to proue th end of Traitors to be miserable.

West. Upon Gods prouidence in frustrating the malicious purpose of Sauadge the Traitor, M. V Walker you haue deliuered matter of necessarie instruction for all subiects, especially the common multitude to learne, whose are many times tempted to rebellion with allurements of godly and honest apparance when it plainly appeareth that there is no warrant (yea that destruction followeth) to rebell against tiranous Princes.

Walk. The serpent inticed Eue, and Eue Adam to disobey Gods commaundement, in eating the forbidden fruite: with this subtil perswasion, If you eat of this fruit, you shall not dye the death but your eyes shall be open, and ye shall be as Gods, knowing both good & euill: euen so, with subtil perswasions, are the simple multitude euer more drawn vnto rebellion. When the noble King Henric the eight, banished the Popes imperiall authority out of England, the Popes instrument Cardinal Poole thought it his comotio to be the rediest way to bring it saue in againe: and

The Popes practises to moue rebellion.

and to bring his purpose to the better effect, he
 perswaded the Northre men, that no man should
 eat any dainty meat in his house, neither should
 any one be married but he should pay a tribute
 for the same vnto the king. In king Edward the
 first his daies ther was almost a general rebel-
 lion throughout England: the papists tempted
 the commons to rebellion, with perswasions to
 throw down inclosure, and for them selues sup-
 ported in, to haue their old religion, and aye of six
 articles restored, the banishment of strangers
 hath bene the cause of many comotions: but my
 counsaile is that my louing brethren the subiects
 of england, open not their eares to such pleasing
 perswasions, lest rebellion enter into their hearts,
 and so vengeance light vpon their whole bodie:
 vpon the holliest ground of rebellion, destruc-
 tion of traitors haue euermore growen. The Nor-
 thren men had but a bad proofe of two rebelli-
 ons, when they had the crosse and banner of foure
 wounds borne before them. God placeth kinges
 in their kingdomes, and he alone wil haue the
 dissoluing of them: If Princes be good, let vs be
 thankfull to God for them, if they be tyrannous,
 let vs looke into our sinnes for God sendeth Ty-
 rants to purghe the sinnes of the wicked, whome
 saith, I will doe vengeance on my enemies by
 my enemies. God (saith Iob) maketh the He-
 perdite to raigne for the sinnes of the people.
 In Osee (God speaketh thus.) I will giue
 thee a kinge in my fury. And in Eiaie.

Counsaile
 against re-
 bellion.

Tyrants are
 the scourges of
 Gods ven-
 geance.

B.iii.

Assur is the rod

Asur is the rod and staffe of my fustle. Be Princes good or bad, let subiects be obedient, least (for their disobedience) God take away the good, and double the tyranny of the bad.

West. I would this sound counsell were grafted in all mens hearts; then no doubt the rotten branches of rebellion, would soone be cut off: no to good neighbour on with your matter.

Robert
Barnwell,
Gent. ex-
ecuted.

VVilk. When Sawadge was executed, Barnwell was made readie to die.

VVest. And what of him?

VVilk. He died an obstinate Papist and for his treason he made conscience his best excuse.

VValk. He had had but a rotten conscience that was infected with the murder of a vertuous Queene: and since his conscience was so bad, I hope but a few that heard him, but for had their conscience to pittie him, other then charitably to be sorrowful for his error, which was damnable.

Chediack
Tichburn
Esquire,
executed.

VVilk. After Barnewell, Tichburnes turne was next, he was a goodly yong Gentleman, and certainly his humilitie and modestie moued much compassion, he was not settled so much in papistrie as the other: but he was so much settled to the proud humor of Babington as his head could no longer settle vpon his shoulders. In his mone (which I very well marked) he compared his state to Adam, who said he was placed in paradice and ther enjoyed all the pleasures of the earth, he was onely forbidden to eat of the fruite of one tree: but for his transgression, he not

Tichburnes
lamentation
moued many
to pittie.

for his sin

onely

onely procured wretchednesse and miserie vpon his owne heade, but vpon the heades of all his posteritie. So (q he) I that wanted nothing, but had helth, welth, and friends, and so might long haue liued, if I could haue forborn to haue bin true to my prince. But alas for my offence I haue brought my self vnto this miserie, by which my good mother, my louing wife, my four brethren, and six sisters, yea our whole house, neuer before attainted, is infamed, and our posterity for euer like to be vndone.

walk. His lack of grace is to be lamented and by his ouerthrowe all men are warned to make choice of good company: for the olde prouerbe is verified. Euill companie corrupt good manners. And truly the iniurie that he hath done vnto his wife, his mother, and to so many brethren and sisters: and to conclude to his whole posterity, is a fearefull example to feare men from treason, especially the Nobility and better sort of Gentlemen: for they thereby not only lose their life, & liuing, but the honor of their house is corrupted: neither seemeth it an iniury against reason, that in punishment of treason, a number beare the burthen, and blot of one mans fault: when for the vertue, and dutifull seruice of one man, a number in his posterity receaue both honour, and many other temporall blessings: further in his confession, or comparing his offence to Adams, he concluded, he likened her Maestie to the pleasant and glorious fruite, so pretious in Gods eyes, as he forbad Adam and all other to lay vi-

A good example to forbid vs the fellowship of the wicked.

olent handes vpon, & thus by the mouth of her
enemies, God causeth her sacred excellencie to
be blazed.

West. You put me in remembrance of a tale
that a Gentleman, a traueler, once told me, who
being at Rome when Pope Gregorie ther liued,
and finding at the English Colledge, ouer the
armes of England, a Phenix drawn, which the
Pope did appropriate vnto himselfe: the Gentle-
man dutfully reuerensing her maiestie as his so-
ueraigne, and Phenix of the worlde: in some of
the Pope wrote these verses.

And reason good the Lion should,
the Phenix stand belowe:
For though the leaues bewray the tree,
the fruit the goodnesse shewe.

Applying in secret zeale, the construction ther-
to, of this sence. The armes of England to leaues
as but the generall badge of her kingdom, and
the Phenix he did propriat to the vertues of her
maiestie, as her excellent beautie, and glorie of
the world. And of the contrary parte, the matter
was wel take, I know not by what mistaking.

Wells. It is like enough that the meaning
was perceiued, for the policie of the Pope and
his fauourers is to turne all to their honours,
that in the market place blazeth not their disho-
nor: as for example: A pleasant frier being ap-
pointed to preach before the Pope and his Car-
dinals, who marking, with what maiestie and
pompe, they entred into S. Peters church, as one
glorified wth their brightnes, he scoffingly cri'd
out

outly of **S. Peter**, **sp of S. Paule**, **sp, sp** upon their
 beggerlye Apostels: what reckoning is to bee
 made of their religion, whē the honor therof cōs-
 tēd in casting forth of deuils, cleansing of Lepers,
 raising the dead, in making the blinde to see, the
 deaf to hear, **p Dumbes** speak, & the lame to go:
 the good they did was to beggers, & their living
 was as beggerly, bareleg, & barefoot, they wā-
 dred from country to cuntry, their raimēt was
 simple, their diet thin, & their deaths violēt. But
 honor & reuerence be to the **popes** holines, the
 glory of his religion is visibly seene: he is able to
 make kings, & to dispose kindomes: his raimēt
 is of golde, & his vituals the plētie of the earth,
 he dwelleth & dieth in pallaces, & is buried like
 a God. **Ar.** This sermon was so wel liked as the
 frier was inuited to dine with the **pope**, who
 to relish his good sermon, excused himselfe by **p**
 weaknes of his braine, **p** could endure no strong
 fauor: when his meaning was demanded, hee
 answered, since Emperors & kinges kissed his
 holines feet, he thought his lot would be but to
 kisse the homeliest part of his holines, at which
 was wel taken, yet perceiued to be bawpelic
 mēt. For if **p pope** should reuenge euery **p** bloue,
 he & his Cardinals would soone set Rome in an
 vproze: but if you make no publique professiō of
p gospel, for al other offices Rome will heare to
 you, & for a fe w petrepēe & pope will pardon you
 all. **West.** God blesse me from such pardons that

A pleasant
 sermō before
 the Pope.

bying many wro to the gallowes. **Charles**
Wil. Tilney, one of **p Q.** maiesties pensioners, pensioner
 next executed.

next unto Tichburne made wothe for the hang-
man.

VVest. By statute lawe, it is pettie treason,
for a seruāt to murther his maister or maistris,
being but a subiect: how detestable a treasō is it
then, for a swoorne seruāt to lay violent handes
on his annoiuted Princes: The offence being in
the extreamest degree of sinnes, the punishment
ought to be according to the severest censure of
Justice.

The antient
serui-
tude of ser-
uants.

Walk. Every mans household well governed,
resembleth a common wealth, wherein seruāts
ought to live in the awe and subiection of Sub-
jects: and among the Romans there was an an-
cient lawe, that authorised the maister to pu-
nish the offences of their seruants with death:
but the wicked policy of men hath alwaies bin
such, as where open power was to weak, am-
bition, enuie, and money allured the familiar
seruants, and meaner persons to Emperours,
Kings, & men of al estates, to lay violent hands
of their maisters and to betraye them to death.
Iudas one of the Apostels, betrayed our Saviour
Iesus into the handes of the Jewes. King Alex-
ander, was poisoned by his physician Theflalus:
the death of the Emperour Commodus was com-
passed by the practise of his sister Lucilla. Many
haue had their banes by their wiues, as King
Candaulus: some by their sonnes, as the greates
Turke Baiazet the menth. &c. but innumerable
that haue ben destroyed, by the treason of their
seruants.

West.

West. I hope these odious attempts will discover them: and for that they are crept into services of account, by subtilty, it shal be the part of every good subiect to certify their Lords (who are perhaps vnaacquainted with their religion,) of such dangerous servants.

Wilk. The last of these seaven that suffered was Abingto, his father was an officer of good credite in her maiesties house, and for many aduancements was bound to say, God save good Queene Elizabeth. but his sonne was a notable Papist, an Archtraitor, and at his death did all that in him lay to settle a feare in the heartes of the ignorant multitude, with a sprach, that they could not chuse but be a great effusion of blood in England very shortly.

Edward
Abington
Esquire,
executed.

Abingtons
threatnings.

VValk. Gods prouidence maketh it apparat that y prophies of traitors proue not euermore scripture: Throgmorton the traitor said, before one yeare were expired the prosperitie & peace of England should be tountred into general calamitie, but the date thereof is out, and I hope the destiny past. No doubt he knewe of a number of malicious enemies vnto the state, and with the spirit of their wickednesse, he blundered forth his prognostication, but let all good subiects to their comfort, and Traitors to their confusion, knowe that the wicked diggeth a pit, and falleth therein himselfe, and who treadeth down the hedge a serpent shal bite him, ther is no wisdom, there is no vnderstanding, there is no counsell against the Lord, The horie is prepared against the

Examples of
great comfort
to the godlie,
and of no les
terror to the
wicked.

Proverbiall,

the day of battaile, but the Lord giueth the victory. The Jewes had S. Paule in prison; yea fortie of the vowed that they wold neither eat, nor drinke, until they had slaine him: but God (according to the Psalmist,) in a due time defended him, yea in that distresse, he came and stode by Paule, & thus comforted him: Be of good cheare Paule, for as thou hast testified of mee at Ierusalem, so muste thou beare wiuesse also at Rome. The Angell of the Lorde led Paul forth of prison, the Angell of the Lorde defended Sadrack, Misaack, and Abednago, in the burning fire: the Angell of the Lorde stopped the Lions mouthes that shoulde haue deuoured Daniell: the Angell of the Lorde with a drawne sword, could tell that he was the chiefe of the Lorde's bandes: A comfortable saying, and a true experiment: that this holie Angell of the Lord, with a drawne sword (although not visibly seen) standeth between the godly & their enemies, and then though the wicked come armed, with horses, chariots, & an host of men, they shal be overcome with their subtil deuices, & their swords shall go through their own hartes: The Lord will haue the pride of Synners & Pope abased, & all the world strue in pain to set him vp again, if his friends look into his disgraces, since victorious King Henrye the eight, first vnmasked his abhominatiō: they shal finde no cōfort to take his part: he was the in his strength & the greatest prince of thurstome, his friend, yea for the Popes cause they were &. Henryes greatest enemies: the Pope sent Cardinal Poole ambassadoys to moue the French K, against the

The disgraces
of the
Pope, since K.
Henric the 8.
first vnmask-
ed his ab-
hominatiō

Cardinal
Poole mo-
ued the French
K. against K.
Henric the 8.

King of England: the French made many dragger
 but did little: the mighty Emperor Charles the 5.
 prepared a great Raule at the Popes request
 to trouble the peace of England: the fawning of
 whose inuasion cost the Marques of Exeter his head
 but this attempt prospered not, but which had
 likehood to do more hurt, then all the host of
 forrain power: by the practice of Cardinal Poole
 20000 rebels in Lincolnshire, for religious sake
 had put themselves in armes, but when they
 vnderstood of the K. power coming against the
 they cried for pardon, & least their chieftaine Dr.
 Mackerel monk, called captain colder, to the cen-
 sure of iustice. In February following the Pope
 by his instrument, compassed a mer comotion in
 Yorkshire, of 40000 rebels, but by the prouidence
 of God, the night before the armies should ioin
 they were severed by a mighty fall of water, in
 so much as vpon a part by the rapines of both
 sides, the rebels were appeased, & departed w-
 out bloodshed: in the 3rd year of K. Edward the 6.
 the Pope to set by his authority in Eng. by his sedi-
 cious instruments, moued generall rebellions
 through Eng. but they were ended wth the des-
 tination of the kings rebellious subiects. Q. Marie
 though unsound in religion, had the better hand
 against her rebels whom no doubt, God therein
 fauoured, for her godly father Henry the 8.
 as he did the Idolater Abdias for his greate grand-
 father Dauids sake: But the manifold disgraces
 which our soveraign lady Q. Elizabeth hath gi-
 uen unto this bloody popish out of whole tirany,
 and to her very cradle, the Angel of y^e lord hath
 C 4. miraculously

The pope
 stirred the
 Emperour Char,
 the 5. against
 K. Henry 8.

Comotion in
 Lincolnshire,
 by Cardinals
 Poles meanes
 dismayd by
 the kings
 power.

Rebellion in
 the North
 by Gods pro-
 uidence qui-
 cted.

General re-
 bellion in K.
 Ed. the sixt
 his daies pu-
 nished and
 pacified.

intraconsciously delivered her maiesty open the incomparable strength of Gods providence, and offer cause of admiration to the whole worlde: when (for our sinnes) Queen Mary committed both the word and sworde, to the hypocrisse and tyranny of the Cleargie good lady, her life was assailed with a thousand publique and private practises, but the Angel of the Lord still stood between her and her hatmes, and from the fetters of aduersitie, loosed, and crowned her Majestie, with the supreme dignitie of this Realme, and as a prognostication of his ruine by her renown: he prate that God placed her royall throne, he displaced these christian Princes, the Popes great friends. The Emperour Charles the first, the Queene of Hungarie, Queene Mary of England, two kings of Denmarke, Bona, Sferza Queen of Polonia, Henry the third, the french king, le rolme Princes Duke of Venice, Hercules Dacste, Duke of Ferrara, and Paule the fourth, Pope of Rome, that these seclid friends of the Pope being removed, other princes better affected, or at least not so hurtful, to the passage of the gospel might occupy their places, the Pope and all his fauours, while their strength yet lasted, Not to deprive her maiestie of her crowne and dignitie, God so strengthened her maiestie, as by her power the french were dishonorably driven out of Scotland, and by her wisedome, both Realmes were delivered from forraine bondage, yea the King of Scottes is bound to confesse, that from God, and her maiesties goodness, he and his posteritie

The Popes friends dropped away, when Queene Elizabeth was crowned.

A figure of the popes fall.

Victorie against the French.

posterity possesse a kingdome: this peaceable blasphe-
 mie against the french, discomfited the Pope a few
 yeares: in fine, Pius Quintus set **D.** Morton, an eng-
 lish fugitive, a worke, to raise a commotion in the
 north parts: the Earle of Northumberland, the Earle
 of Westmerland, and others entered into open rebell-
 lion: the very sound of her Maiesties power disma-
 ided them, and happy was he, that could run fastest
 away: the principals fled, but escaped not the iustice
 due vnto traitors: the Earle of Northumberland was
 soone brought vnder the censure of her maiesties
 lawes, and according to his deserte, was beheaded
 at Yorke: the Earle of Westmerland, euer after for a
 bare allowance, was subiect to the proud controule-
 ment, of euery raskal Spaniard: Felton, to drawe her
 Maiesties subiects from dutiful obedience, set vpp
 the Popes Bul vpon the Bishop of Londons gates,
 but (God be praised) the homes that shold haue go-
 red the innocent, turned into a halter to hang mai-
 ster Felton: the Pope expected no good successe by o-
 pen force, and therefore he now armed his praui-
 ses with Machiuels pollicies. Madder and Barlowe were
 made instruments, to murther some principal Ma-
 iestates, but their confusion was speedy, & their
 purpose frustrate. This willy Pope, with an ambi-
 cious humour, then infected the principal Bear and
 most popular subiecte of England: his treason was
 so dangerous, as the person of the Queens maiesty,
 and the peace of England, could not be in safetie. vntill
 the Duke was set lower by the head: in whose
 confusion by Gods prouidence the peace of England
 was no waye troubled: the conspiracie of Throg-

Victorio-
 gainst the
 northren
 Rebels

The Earle of
 Northmader-
 land beheaded

Misery of the
 Earle of west-
 merland.

Felton ex-
 ecuted.

Madder and
 Barlowe
 executed.

The Duke of
 Norfolk.
 beheaded.

Elizabeth
death practi-
sed by nigro-
mancie.

D Storie ex-
scused.

Stukeleys
treason fru-
strate.

Stukeley
slaine.

morton, Apleyard, Brooke, and others, had no better
successe, then in helping some of those wicked mem-
bers to the gallowes. The Pope & his instruments
seeing the pollicie of man, preuailed not against the
Lords annointed, they set the deuill a worke to de-
stroy her sacred maiestie. The notable traitor Do-
ctor Storie (whom God would haue cutte off, by the
censure of her Maiesties lawes) confessed that cer-
taine persons (of whome there is yet, that liueth by
vertue of her princely word & metty) vndertooke to
destroy her excellency by Nigromancie: but the de-
uill had no power, where the Angel of the Lord was
the shielde of his annointed: by the solliciting of the
Athiest Stukeley, the pope tooke hart of grace, by o-
pen force to alter the godly gouernment of England,
and for his better strength, Stukeley thought to haue
compassed the K. of Portingals armie, after an ende
of his battail with Mulei Maluco, King of Feze, and
Marocoës, but Gods prouidence turned his hope, to
an idle fancy, for in that battail, the K. of Portingale
was slaine, his army was discomfited, and Stuke-
ley was cut off, from disturbing of the peace of Eng-
land. But yet to keepe the Dopes purpose a foote,
James fitz Morrice an Irish Traitor, tooke vpon him
to be the Dopes captaine: a man both for courage,
iudgemente, and experience, better armed to doe
mischiefe then Stukeley: and to make passage for
forraigne power, he conuayed himselfe into Ireland,
where he sone allured the Earle of Deasmonde, Sir
John his brother, and others vnto rebellion: but
such was Gods iustice (when the Traitor Fitzmor-
rice least thought to be surpassed) hee was casuallie
slaine

saime, before he saw any success of his treason. Saunders supplid his place, and after him followed the Italian and Spanish forces: it was Gods good pleasure, to giue her maiesty sohonorable a victory, as not one man escaped to carrie newes, saue a very few that were spared to reposte the inertie and power of her Maiestie: Doctor Saunders wandered by and down in the Mountaines like a rogue, and died of scensie: the Earle of Desmond was driven to liue like a begger in the Mountaines, and to finish his miserable life, after his accustomed and sauage maner, had by an Irish man his head stroked off in his Cabin: Sir Iohn his brother like a Wolfe in the wooddes wandring to seeke some pray, was taken and headed after his owne blage: when the practize of the Pope concerning open rebellion was thus rent in peces, necessitie droue him, by his vagrant Iesuits in euery corner to sound sedicious Schimeons proclamation, which was to entertain murderers, theeues, Althiefts, & all maner of discontented persons, into the seruice of the pope, to the intēt that they should murder the Q. maiestie, and alter the state of this gouernmēt, both in matters of religion & pollicy: these Iesuits in disguised habits, some like rustiās, some like seruimgmē, & p most like courtiers transformed themselves at pleasure like vnto Protew, and made their night walks like owles, not withstanding Gods prouidēce hath deliuered their Champion Campion, and diuers others of the, into the hands of Justice, & Justice by orderly trial after ward condemned Campion, and some of the most malicious of the Iesuits to the Gallowes, whereof a

The traitor Fitzmorris slain.

The Popes forces in Ireland put to sword.

D. Saunders died of a frenzy in the mountaines.

The Earle of Desmond beheaded.

Sir Iohn of Desmond beheaded.

Campion and diuers seditious Iesuits executed.

number of good subiectes wondred at their deformities, and plainly saw that the Lord of hostes, heaped the deuices of the wicked vpon their owne heads, and shewed forth the vncomely priuities of Babylon, according to promise.

originall of
the Iesuits.

West. With your fauour sir, I the lesse maruel
þ these Iesuits, for their seditious in such disguised,
warlike, & ruffianly order, and intice men to violent
murther, without difference of persons, when their
first founder Ignatius Layola was a Spanish souldier,
who decreped with woundes, to keepe himselfe
fro begging in age; disguised himselfe with the ha-
bite of holinesse, and with counterfeit miracle began
this holy order; not unlike to the curtisanes of
Rome, who when the sale of their betwote is past,
professe themselues Nunnes to get them a liuing
by cloister brokadge in their age.

Rebellion
coulored by
religion.

walk. in very trueth since the time that it pleased
God, to make the glorie of himselfe, and the passi-
on of his sonne Iesus to be knowne and reuerenced
among the Gentiles: the godly embraced religion
to nourish their soules: and the wicked dissembled
religion, to pamper their carnall bodie, and when
that experience discouered, that the multitude were
like vnto a barrel that is ready to receaue euery li-
quor, and that with hastie running they followed e-
uery new doctrine, the ambitious Atheists straight
deuised some new forme of deuinity, to rob God of
his glorie, many men of their liues and liuelihode,
(but which is most to be lamented) huge millions, of
their saluation: in the protestant church there were
such a huge sight of heretiques, as christendome re-
sembled

sembled a mighty armie, wher the souldiers vnder a number of severall Ensignes followed severall Captaines, for after euery heretique followed a multitude of people. The enuious Donke Sergius, thzough enuy that his heresie in Cōstantinople was put to silence, deuised the damnable secte of Mahomet, and to strengthen his purpose, he picked forth Mahomet, the most proud, arrogant, and insolent person of Arrabia to take vpo him to be a prophet, & by magick wrought such counterfeited miracles, as to this day a great part of the world are led to his error. One Ismael seeing what force followed the banner of new religion, deuised a religion different from Mahometes, & by the strength of his followers, grew in time to be the great Sophie of Persia, the unnatural enemy to the great Turke. The number of orders of friers, had their beginning for the most part from ambition, or enuie, and to this day there is a malicious hatred among them, as whosoever will read Erasmus dialogue, called Funus, shal well perceauie, & seeing the knaueries of the old orders of the friers waxed so publique as the date of their credite wearied out: your reason is probable that the wounded souldier Layola deuised this newe order of Iesuits, vnder the habite of holinesse, to sustaine his age in the reputation of his youth, and at this day there is in Italy a newe order, called the fellowship of the Trinitie, wherin are Tinkers, Tatlers, Tilers, and al mecanicall crafts men: and questionles, if some notable Nigromancer to worke some false miracles, would enter into their fraternitie, the dignitie of their order, would soone outway the

Ambition
and enuie is
the cause of al
heretiques.

Abingtons

The execution threatnings answered

Sommeruile,
hanged him-
selfe.

Arden
executed,

Throgmorton
executed.

Parry execu-
ted.

credite of the Iesuits : but to our former purpose, if the
Deuill and al his furies toynd with the pope & his
disciples, their pollices should take no effect against
Gods prouidence. The murdering Iesuits thought y
they had sped of their purpose, when they had ouer-
come the hairebraine Gentleman Sommeruile, to
murther her Maiestie (whome the Lorde alwaies
keepe out of the violent handes of traitors) in daede
they had picked forth a dangerous instrument, as
a man so graceles, as he was fearles, to lay violent
handes vpon him selfe : but in his confusion was
scene the Prophecie of the Psalmist : His owne
tongue made him to fall, and all that hearde him
laughed him to scorne, he was first discouered by
the suspition of his owne speech and by his ouer-
throwe it was perceaued, that God shotte at him
with a swift arrowe which wounded him, he made
such haste to his deserued death : as this Traitor
hanged himselfe the night before the appoynted
day of his execution. The close Traitor Arden,
was by Sommeruils discouery brought to confusion.
The dangerous traitor Throgmorton as cunning-
ly as hee disguised his odious treasōs was intrap-
ped in the snares which he set for his Countries de-
struction : and worthelie died with the sword which
he had whetted for the innocent. The odious Ath-
est Parrie had the rewarde of his fellowe Trai-
tors: he had the place and opportunitie (which pru-
dence I hope will keepe al other suspitious persons
from) and yet as graceles as he was the very ma-
iesty of her Maiesties countenance made him loose
his resolution, with the selfe same vertue that ap-
peared

peared in the faces of the two magnanimous Romans: Marius and Crassus, where of the one with the motion of his eyes, and the other with the stoutnesse of his speech, redeemed themselves from death: The prouidence of God in bereauing the traitors of so valiant a Captaine, as the Earle of Northumberland, euery good subiecte to his comfort perceaueth, who had so deeply entred into disloyaltie as his owne conscience condemned him, and therefore to saue the honoz of his house, slew himselfe. If the popes instruments had iudgement to way, that no one that actually practised her Maiesties death, or depriuement, hether to escaped the visibie vengeance of God: if her Maiesties goodnes, and their duty could not moue them to loue, yet the assurance of punishment, and the continuance of shame, might feare them to be disloyall: but alas, those whose hearts are hardned, haue their iudgements blinde, and their affections swift to run vpon destruction. Pharaos was warned with diuers plagues: that hee should not hinder the departure of the children of Israel forth of Egypt: yet he would needs follow them to his bitter destruction. The report of the Souldiours concerning the glorie of Christs resurrection, suffised to haue conuerted the Iewes, but to their condemnation, the Deuill & money sealed this errour in their harts, that his disciples stole him away by night. Gods iustice strooke Mahomet with the falling sicknesse to make him knowe, and repent his blasphemie, but to strengthen the peoples misbelaeife, the deuill taught him to say, that his passion proceeded of the conference with an angel whose

Deuine.

Henry Percie earl of Northumberland slew himselfe with a dag.

When it pleaseth God to harden the harts of the wicked, he likewise blindeth their iudgements.

Visibie warnings of God turned to streng then the errors of wicked.

A dead tree
bore greene
leaves, when
the savage
murder at
Paris was in
execution.

Deuine presence, his earthly shape could not endure
vpon the principal day of the sauage murder in
Paris, as a token that Gods word should flourish in
dispite of their crueltie: a withered tree bare greene
leues in the churchyard, that receiued many a mur-
thered carcasle, and yet the papistes on the contra-
ry part, appllied this prophesying example, to the se-
cond flourishing of their Romish church: thus blinde
they are, in the successe of their errours and wicked-
nesse, as euermore they turn the p[re]sage of their ru-
ines, to the apparance of their prosperitie, & with
these vaine hopes, Babington, and his fellowe trat-
tors, were ledde vnto the follies and falles of the a-
boue named vnloyall subiects: and therefore how-
soeuer they perswade themselves, and threaten
the multitude with a change of their prosperitie: so
long as we feare God, and be true to her Maiestie,
our peace wil vndoubtedly last, and the disturbers
thereof, are like to taste their fortunes, that bought
the horse Scian, whose maisters had euermore mise-
rable endes.

VVest. You haue answered a matter which rai-
sed much feare, and a great deal of speach amongst
the common people, so comfortably and truly, as
cannot but be the cause of great ioy and contentment
vnto the ignorant multitude, and no doubt a specta-
cle of great terror vnto Traitors, to punish whose
offences, no torture can be so violent: This Abing-
ton, was the last of the first leauen that were execu-
ted: but soasmuch as the common brute was, that
the other leauen condemned and iudged, should be
executed the day following, I would gladly know
if you

if you saw their executions: what speeches they uttered, & what behauiour they vsed at their death:

Wilk. I stayed to heare, and saw the order of their Deaths, and according to the generall expectation of the whole multitude, the day following being the 21 of September, Salsburie was laid alone vpon a hurdel, and other six, two, and two vpon a hurdel, were drawne from Tower hill, through the cittie of London vnto the former place of execution. Salsburie was the first man that suffered, and in all points was handled as the seauen that suffered the day before, saue that he and the latter six, were executed with this fauour, that they were suffered to hang vntill they were fully dead, before the rest of their execution was performed.

Thomas
Salsburie
Esquier
executed.

The latter
traitors executed with
exceeding
faueur.

West. It seemeth by their fauourable handling that although the greatnes of their offences, egged the sword, to take away their liues, yet the outward signe of their repêtaunce obtained some compassion at their deaths.

Wilk. In very deepe, albeit that Salsburie was blinded with the superstition of papistrise, euen at y point of death, yet he mildly acknowledged his greuous offence, towards the Quænes maiesty, and in his last commendation, charged all Catholiques, (so: so he onely accompted the Papists) that they should leaue to attempt to let by their religion by violent hand: and by double and treble repeticion, he counselled them to patience, and earnestly forbade them all maner of violence.

Violence forbidden by
Salsburie.

Walk. This gentleman by his execution, shewed all traiterous papistes, the assured reward of treason:

son: and by his profitable admonition, a more necessarie doctrine for them to followe, then the seditious perswasions of al the Iesuits in the world: he was a Papist at point to die, so that it stādeth with reason, that through the onely working of his conscience, he published to the world, that the violent courses of Subiectes were odious, when we doubt not but Ballard and other Iesuits, had once blowne into his eares, that the same was meritorious: all manner of violence by which the life of man is taken away, is murther, except the execution by the sword of iustice, which belongeth to the kinge, and his ministers, onelie where the gouernemente is Monarchia: excepte also the violence done in righteous warres, and other slaughters by casualtie. And whosoever looseth his life by any other violence, the same man is murthered: whose blood, **GOD** will seuerely punish. **GOD** punished the murther committed by Caine with a moste bytter curse: and yet, that there might bee no protection in murther, **GOD** saide himselfe, That whosoever slewe the reprobate Caine, it shoulde be auenged seauen folde. **GOD** requirerh the blood of innocents, at the handes of kinges and annointed Princes. To punish the faulte of king David in seeking the death of Vrias, **GOD** toke away the life of the childe which David had by Vrias wife: furthermore, in the time of king David, there was three yeares famine, and David demaunded the cause why: and the Lorde saide, it was for Saule, and the house of bloode, because he slewe the

The odious-
ness of mur-
ther.

the Gybonites. According to the opinion of Erasmus, the consentor in murder is as guiltie as the doer. Iudas that betrayed Christ, and Pilate that adiudged him death onely to please the Iewes, carried the burthen of murder in their consciences, and by the horror thereof, wrought their owne destructions, that either mighte die by the violent hande of the moste wicked personne aliue. The heathen men at Milite, when they sa'we the viper to hange vpon Pauls finger, ruen from the very hatred of nature, they murmured and saide: This man must needs be a murderer, whome, though hee haue escaped the danger of the sea, yet vengeance suffereth not to liue. Nature taught the Infidels to beleue that vengeance followeth murder. And then reason may perswade Christians to assure themselves, that the bloodthirstie are worse then Infidels, and cannot escape the sword of vengeance: seeing then that kinges, if they shed anye blode otherwise then by the sword of iustice, and Iudges, if they adiudge death for hatred, feare, or gaile, by Gods righteoulnesse are punished as murderers: What may they expecte, that in corners laye violent handes of annointed kinges, or without collour of authoritie, murder the innocente, If the eyes of their vnderstanding were not blinde, they mighte see a doubtfull successe in their purpose, and the open confusion of themselves. I haue reade of a number both of good and badde Princes and also of other, which haue bene bereaued of their liues by

Iudas and Pilate died by their own violent hands.

the violent handes of secret traitors: but among a hundred, you shall hardly read of one murdherer, that hath escaped the torture of Gods vengeance. Brutus and his partakers, murdhered Iulius Cæsar, but not one of them escaped a violent death: yea, the common people so loued Cæsar, as to be reuenged, they violently ran vpon all the friendes of Cæsars enemies, and by way of instruction the opinion is generall, that if for our sinnes, it had pleased God, to haue suffered our most excellent queene to haue fallen into the violent handes of these wilde Traitors, her maiesties louing subjects being the most of the better sorte, and the whole sway of the commons, would without respecte of persons, haue violently intreated euery knowne Papist, as the Romane multitude did the friends of Cæsars enemies: and to continue this terror to murdhering Traitors, with latter examples: the Archbishop of Pisa, together with the kindred of the Saluiatij, the famely of Pazzie and other the ancient houses of Florence, enuying the popular fauour of Segnior Iulian and Lawrence de Medeces, who the principally gouerned the state of Florence, conspired to murdher the two Medeces. To prevent suspition, and to bereaue the brethren of publique succour, which in the strettes they were like to finde, the conspirators made choise of the church for their slaughter house: and vpon a Sunday at mid mas, one of the conspirators slew Signior Iulian, & Laurence de Medeces by Gods providence escaped into the Sacristians suddain brute of this assault, set al the cittie in an vprore, the conspirators cried, libertie: and the multitude life to the Medeci, & vengeance

Conspiracie
of Florence
murther pre-
ceded against
the Medeci
punished.

vengeance vpon the conspiratoꝝ: to be briefe, with
 in the space of thre howers the Archbishop of Pisa
 was haged, Ieames Saluicij, Ieames de Pazzi, Antho
 ny de Volterro and diuers others of the cōspiratoꝝ
 were slaine in the furie of the people: Barnard Ban
 dyn was led naked into the market place and there
 hanged: the rest of the conspiratoꝝ, their seruants,
 and fauourers, were in this sort ouerthrowne, and
 which is moste grieuous: their posteritye haue euer
 since bene subiects to the Monarcall gouernmente
 of the house of Medeces. Galeas the sonne of Frauncis
 Forze, and Duke of Millen, for his odious vices and
 extreame tyranny, was generally hated of all the
 people of the cittie, he slew his mother, and by fear
 of force, abused the greatest part of the virgins and
 faire women of Millen, so that to redeme the Cittie
 from this seruitude, and tyrannie, thre yong Gen
 tlemen of ancient houses in Millen, conspired the
 Dukes death, their names were Charles viscounte,
 Iohn Andrea, and Ierolme Olgia: these gentlemen
 kept their resolucion, & as the Duke was atten
 tiuely hearing of mas, said by the Bishop of Coma,
 they so violently assailed Galeas, as they left him
 dead in the church, God suffered this vengeance to
 light vpon the tyrant, yet in his iustice would not
 suffer the cōspiratoꝝ to escape unpunished, Andrea
 and Viscounte were both slaine in the hurley burley
 of the people: Olgia was afterward apprehended
 by the ministers of iustice, and albeit he redeemed
 the Cittie fro a great bondage, yet for that the good
 that they receiued, proceeded from an euil action in
 Olgia, they executed him as a cōmon traitor. The

The murder
 of the tyrant
 Galeas Duke
 of Millen
 pun shed.

Murder of
the late K of
Scots puni-
shed.

Murder of
the godlie
prince of O-
renge puni-
shed.

late King of Scottes, was villanously murdered: the greatest fauourers & (according to published records) the greatest procurers of the saide murder, were by common iustice drawne to commit, almost all the murderers into the hands of the hangman, and such as escaped, or were not bounde vnto the censure of law, could by no meanes shift themselves from the vengeance of God. Iohn Iarugo that first assailed the godly prince of Orrenge, had the common reward of traitors, and the most odious Athiest Balchazar Serack that slew him: notwithstanding & blessing of the pope, the comendation & threatening of the king of Spaine, exchanged the pistoll where with he slew the prince, for tortures to execute himselfe. I could aleadge infinite examples to dissuade men from violent murder, which Gods prouidence many waies preuenteth, whē his iustice neuer leaueth & murderer unpunished. It is a special policy that the Iesuits vse, to draw yong gentlemen to these desperat treasons: for if they had iudgmēts to obserue & infortunes of such prauisers, or experience to looke into the currants of time: they should see the attempt as vaine a matter, as to throwe stones against the Starres, or with a knock of their head, to leauell a mountaine, that seek to displace a beloued Prince.

West- I pray God the good counsel of this traitor Salsburie may settle obedience in al mens harts, and the better to bridle the malicious affections of the disloyall, they assure themselves by their outward apparance, that the multitude will entreate them, (and all their partakers) as the Romanes did the quellers of Caesar, or as the Florentines did the conspirators

spirators against the Medcees.

Wilk. After Salsburie was with al possible sauoz executed, Dun was stripped into his shirt, who seemed very penitent for his greivous offence, & after y^e with very earnest perswasion, he had likewise dissuaded the Romish catholikes from attempting any matter of violence, was executed with exceeding much fauour.

Henry
Dun gent
executed.

West. This Dun, as the report goeth, liued (reasonably) wealthely : but it seemeth, the humour of the man, was not contented with a reasonable vocation, as appeared by his vain imagination, who in Trinitie terme last, coming into the kings bench office, among other pleasant speech to one of his familiars: you will maruell (q^d he) to see me within one quarter of a year to walke by & down with twenty men after me : whereupon an acquaintance of his pleasantly answered, y^e he feared he shoulde first see him followed to the Gallows with a thousand men.

Ambitious
humour of
Dun.

Wilk. Dun shewed his desire, and the other red his destiny, & in this obseruance, you haue shewen the working cause of most treasons : for though to draw y^e affections of the multitude, religion or some other publique benefite be the pretence : Ambition, & desire of dignity is y^e wellspring of rebellioⁿ: but these y^e wil fly without wings, are like to fall before they be wise, he y^e is born to be a seruāt ought in no wise to looke for double and treble attendants : dignitie is like a thane on a high tower, which is subiect to the chaunce of fortune, as the other to the chaunge of the winde : and whoe so will sitte thereupon sure, hec muste like the Snaille,

The roote of
rebellion.

Admonition
for the ambitious.

get experience with slowe climbing, least in taking a swifter course, like vnto a birde, he be remooued with the least stone that is throwne: I mean with the least disgrace of fortune: if mens mindes grow bigger, then their natural conditions, there are many examples of vertue to imitate, which haue raised sundrie men from the carte to the hiest degree of honour, when in climbing by treason, many millions of honorable estates, die dishonorably, and to their posteritie leaue no better inheritance then infamy, let the ende of this traitor be a warning example to all ambitious humored men, that destruction followeth presumption, and that the climbing of pride will haue a falle.

Edward
Jones
Esquire
executed.

Wilk. When the execution of Dunne was finished, the next that plaied his parte was Iones: this Traitor by that which was easie to be gathered of his behauiour at the Gallowes, was a close papist of a shrowd reach, and a very dangerous member in this common wealth: for notwithstanding he protested, he dissuaded Salsburie from this odious enterprise, his owne tale shewed that his counsaile proceeded of a fear that he had, that the proud humour of Babington threathned an ouerthrowe of their purpose, rather then of any dutieful zeale that he bare towards the safetie of the Queenes maiesty: for he neither would himselfe discouer his treason of the highest degree of treasons, neither did hee counsell his friende Salsburie to preuente his owne danger in discourring the conspiracie of his companions: yea, when the odiousnesse thereof broke out into publique knowledge, contrarie to the general dutie

duetie of a good subiect, and in contempt of a special
warrant directed vnto him, he not onely refused (as
he himselfe confessed) to apprehend Salisbury being in
his house, but so far as he might, succored him, after
that he was published to be of the most wicked con-
spiracie, one especial thing that, neuertheles, moued
a number to pittie him aboute the rest: with beehemēt
wordes he protested, that though he was a Catho-
lique in religion, yet he so deeply weyed the liberty
of his countrey, as that he would and euer was re-
dy to spend his life in withstanding any forraigne
enemie: French, Italian, Spanish, or whatsoeuer. The
tollerating of inuasio, by whose opinion was so far
from nature, and christian duetie, as no reuile nor
punishment might satisfie the crime.

Forraigne In-
uasion repro-
ued by Iones.

West. It is a wonder that papists, who holde it
damnable to harken to the counsels of Protestants
are not admonished by the censures, and warnings
of papistes themselves, at the point to die: but con-
trary to the iudgemente of their fellowes conscien-
ces in that fearful passage, they follow the seditious
perswasions of Iesuits, that they shal greatly work
the libertie of their countrey, in deliuering the same
into the handes of forraigne gouernors, otherwile,
they would neuer haue giuen succour and aid, to the
Italian forces in Ireland, or (as it is one especiall
point of their treasons) in all their conspiracies to
peruerted forraigne inuasion.

Walk. Those whose hearts it pleaseth God to
harden, haue neither eyes to looke into their owne
danger, nor iudgement to consider of their owne be-
nefit, and no doubt this traitor, having his con-
science

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uasion repro-
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Forraigne
inuasion vn-
natural.

of nature
organization
and will

Example by
the Iewes.

Examples of
louers of
their country

ence prepared to die, saue the odiousnes, and unnaturallnes of this kind of treason, whitch the corruptio of his life little respected, or rather fauoured, for as the case standeth with the Papists (God be praised for blessing her Maiestie and the Maiestates with such prudent foresight) he that setteth his hearte to treason, inclineth his affection to forraigne inuasion, as otherwise out of hope to see the wished successe of his desire: but since it pleased God to commend by this publique enemye, the natural liberty of a mans country: and by conclusion, to discommend his fellowe traitors who continually labour the bondage thereof. It shall not be amiss for our instructions to enlarge our conference with the odiousnesse and and unnaturallnesse, and the Papists owne dangers contained in this Archtreason: we see that if two Mastiues egerly fight, neuertheless, at the sight of a Beare, they part themselves and lie vpon this natural enemye: forraigne seruitude is as unnaturall, and odious, to every Nation, as the Beare to the Mastiue. To be ridde of which seruile yoke, at such time as Titus Vespasian besieged Ierusalem: notwithstanding there were thousandes of the Citizens dailye slaine with chull traies, yet at euerie assault of the Romanes, the Iewes ioyned so assuredly together, as if the multitude had beene but one hand: we reade in Chronicles of a number of good men that haue ben ingratelully & unkindly intreated of their owne country: and of a very few so hadde (untill this wicked age) that preferred a stranger to the gouernmet of their native country: Themistocles the good Athenian, was banished Athens: & for succour was driuen to go to A. Artaxexces, the A.

chenians (their enemy) Artaxerxes glad of this aduantage laboured to guide his army against Athens: At
 whe the Captain could no longer withstand the huge
 importunitie of the drunke buls blood and died, rather
 then he would reuenge the ingratitude of his coun-
 try with foraine bondage: there was mortal ha-
 tred betwene two worthy Captaines. Cretinus
 Magnetus, & one Hermias, so of the whole countrey
 was occupied wth their discord, but whe the L. Mithri-
 dates assailed their countrey, Cretinus Magnetus vo-
 luntarily banished him selfe, that of the losse of their ha-
 tred might not hinder of publique service of his val-
 ant enemy Hermias: of traitor that for his private ad-
 uancement laboureth to betray his country, would if
 his countries danger so required be loth to follow the
 example of L. Corrus, who vnderstanding that of liber-
 ty of his country stood vpon the losse of his life, he pre-
 sently in the habite of a slaue entred the camp of the
 Peloponians, & Dorians, his enemies & there quarel-
 led vntill he was slaine: to do their countrey seruce,
 Anecrus & Midas son & Curtius, voluntarily leaped
 into a deuouring gulf of death. Caius Graccus sacri-
 fized his own daughter, & a noble Roman Scuola ad-
 uentured alone to kill Porcius in his camp. In ancient
 time we heare this zeal toward their country of a nu-
 ber in diuence thereof ran vpon violent death. If these
 general traitors had but experience, to consider of their
 own thraldom, they could not be so ready to welcome
 of foraine enemy wth one hand, as they woulde, bee
 forwarde to th^e giue him loth wth al their force, the
 Spanish Glearge, whom with Cardinall Poole say,
 Roma vniuersa parat est, to bring the Spaniards into

The purpose
of the King
of Spaine in
Queene Ma-
ries daies.

England, the King of Spaine and his counsellors, laboured for the Imperiall Diadem, and as the time then serued, they thought, and it is very like, they had sought diuers of the Nobilitie to fauour their purpose: it is easie to be iudged, the ruff that they meant vnto their enemies, when they purposed to deale thus with their friends: they determined first by their help to cut thort such of the nobility as they found contrary to their desire, and then they meant to make their friends safe with honorable dignities abroad, whereof they should take such sound possession, as they should neuer see England again: as who neuer hath seene a letter in forme of an admonition written by the godly martyr M. Iohn Bradford to the nobilitie of England, may more largely perceiue Bernardin de Mendoza, y^e late ambassado: for Spain, (who framed Throgmorton a principall traitor, and many others no doubt vndiscouered, to make a passage for a forraigne situation,) after his forced departure out of England, diuers times hath said, that if he had continued still in England, he wold not haue left a Papists head of anye account standing vpon their shoulders: meaning, that before the coming of the Spanish power, to leaue no man of estate or reckoning, that might in wofuller looke to strike a stroke in their government, for the Spaniard wold be Domine, fac totum, wheresoeuer he ruleth: a where is then the reckoning of thoe traitors, that looke for dignitie by this vnmaturall treason.

A pollicie of
Bernardin de
Mendoza.

well. You haue already red these fortunes, and I praye God both by the failles and follies of these traitors, that all English men may haue their parts

(to

(to withstand the forsaigne enemye) strengthened with the protestation of Iones his tongue, at the hower of his death. Amen.

Wilk. After Iones had pased the pice of his treason with all possible fauour, Charnock was executed, and after him Trauis, both men as it seemed bewitched with an ignorant deuotion, so that in their endes there was nothing to be obserued, but their praying to our Lady, calling vpon Saintes, ioyned with a number of ceremonies, crossings & blessings, so that it appeared, that in their prayers they were bound to a forme more then vnto faith.

Wilk. The Pope can finde out no instrument so constant for his purpose, as the ignorant perion bewitched with his superstitious deuotion, so he resolutely followeth whatsoeuer is giue him in charge: such a one was hatchbraine Sommeuile, that intended to kil her maiestie, whose life (as the life of Englands happines) God long continue: and such another was young Iarugo, that first wounded the godly Prince of Orange, whose was so simple, as hee perswaded himselfe that the Pope had the power, and would cause him to doe the deed inuisible, and therefore the Pope was wont to practise most rebellions by the ignorant multitude, who so long as they were blinded with his errors, were euer constant in the execution of his pollices, and certainlye although the simple ignorance & error of these two traitors, were to be demoned, yet the danger of their treasons considered, their executions were verie necessary both for example, & her maiesties safetie.

Wilk. You say very true.

John Trauis & John Charnock Gent. executed.

Their ignorant deuotion dangerous.

Robert
Gage
Sent. ex-
ecuted.

Her M^{gr}at i-
obnes com-
mended by
this traitor.

Gages hypo-
critic.

her maiesties
mercy renew
ed in Rome

Will. When the Hangman had given these two senselesse papists his heauy blessing, Gage prepared himselfe to dy: he began his protestation, that there was neuer a subiect more bound to a Prince, then his father was to her Maiestie: and from that true acknowledgement of her maiesties gratioulnes, fell to excuse himselfe of the odious treasons for which he died: but vpon so weake a ground, as the simplest indgement then present, founde by the order of his own confession, that he was a dangerous instrument for the hope: he confessed that he accompanied Ballard the Seminarie Priest into Yorkshire, and that he wrote a letter for the saide Priest, to a French man or a Spaniard of accompte beyond the seas, and in all the course of his confession in indifferent iudgements he accused himselfe to be a hollow subiect and a sound Baptist.

West. This cunning traitor Gage, could neuer haue made a confession of more infamie vnto himselfe, then in acknowledging y^e Queens most excellent fauour, shewed vnto his father, which a dutifull sonne ought to esteeme a benefitt vnto himselfe: & so to double reproch his treasons, he condemned himselfe of ingratitude: which vnnatural fault, Perian-der, euermore sentenced to death: but in my opinion, if y^e Queen were les mercifull, the papists would be more faithfull: so truely their punishment is so miilde as by the faith of an honest man I heard in Rome, a Popish Priest in the presence of other fugitiues, wish to be her maiesties prisoner in the Fleet rather then to enioy his liberty & conscience in Rome.

Y Will. It is verry like, that the vnerceas-
able

ble Iustest, was regarded in Rome as olde dogges
are with their maisters, when the date of their hun-
ting is out, the sentence of their hanging is at hand,
for I haue heard, how those marked people (that ho-
ly scripture bids vs to beware of) are welcome to
Rome, and no lesse rewarded of the Pope, when
those y by their outward countenance, promise not a
rebellious spirite, are entertained neither with the
one nor the other.

The almes
of Rome.

West. You put me in remembrance of a special
difference, that I obserued in Rome, which wel con-
firmeth your opinion, and is not unpertinent to our
conference: being in Rome, Anno domini 1580,
there was presented vnto the Pope a notable Eng-
lish shifter, who named himselfe Seamer, a one eyed
person, and such a one as had abused sundry greate
estates in Germanie: this man being in want, and
withall vnlearned as he could hardly read English
was a suter to the Pope to be entertained into the
English Seminary, and ther to be instructed in the
profession of the Iesuits, he soone obtained his pur-
pose, and with a blessing of crownes was short-
ly after commended to Rheames, and what there
became of him I haue not heard: at the same time,
there came to Rome an English Gentleman, won-
derfullye drunken with the zeale of the Romishe
religion, he had sometimes a proper iuyng, and
good store of mouny leste him by his father, which for
the most parte he consumed in the fellowship of the
Papists: in fine, he was empyned by his confessor,
(I thinke vpon policie because he hadde little
leste to magnetaine him) to restayne from thy
drinking

The disposi-
tion of the
described by
these exāples

Drinking of wine and from the eating of all manner of flesh: in the execution of which penance, (for that in Italie there was smal store of fish, and no here or Ale, he was for the moste parte, driven to live with bread and water: this Gentleman was so strickt in obeying penance, and so deuout in the Popes holinesse, as of a number of Papists he was derided: & of some other tickled, that he was a very Sainte vpon earth: but what would Rome and all the Seminaries of Italie doe for this ignorant and deuout Gentleman: Unto the shame of all Papists, I truly certifie, that with many a weary step, in the deepe of winter he arriued at Rome: he was (not without some repining) entertained eight daies allowance in the English Colledge: but one daies succour aboue, he could not compasse: he laboured to be admitted into the fellowshippe of the Iesuits, he was flatly denied, and in recompence of al his toile, charge, & zeale, he was constrained to leaue Rome with a bare purse, to seeke some new blinde aduventure, his vsage made me to abhor the hipocrisie of Papists, and inwardly to lament the blindnesse of my poore countryman: we departed from Rome together, my selfe minding to go vnto Venice, and he to Madona Deloreta. To shewe all the follies of the man in our iorney were tedious, and more ridiculous: at euery two miles end, there was (lightlie) a Chappel, and where he found our Lady, or any other Saint faire painted, he would there kneel down and pray, but if the Images were in bad attice, he would passe them ouer with the salutation of his cap: many a mile he stepped forth of his way, to reuerence

A blinde
deuotion.

seemeth some old sinners will have. But he refused
 that: and life of our Lady's house into England, & to
 purchase the Ichnes fairer; he did at the direction of a
 Romish Catholique: but for all his suit, they would
 not admit him into their society: thus was he at
 the dead winter, from religious house, to religious
 house in Italy, & yet for all his penance, and a fast-
 ing of life, the pope's Bent. could not get a dwelling
 place, the reason was as you have said, and I well
 observed, he shewed an apparance of an ignorant
 seale, and no signe of a dissenting spirit.
 Walk. Well, leave me these dissenting letters to
 the justice of God, who will punish them with
 shame, & the most of their instruments with degra-
 dation, and now neighbor walk. I pray you shew me
 what observed you in the end of last of these traitors
 to Walk. The last that suffered, was one of the
 Bellamies, his countenance discovered him to be a
 settled papist: as he could say little to save his life,
 so at the gallows he said nothing to delay his death.
 West. Although this traitor had but a dull spirit,
 yet it seemeth he had a malicious heart: he and his
 friends succoured Babington, & some of his comrades,
 to the escape of the law, and some of their obvious
 treasons, made them to shew themselves like a
 fox in the covert: it seemeth that they were as re-
 solute to follow the treasons of Babington, as they
 were ready to relieve him from the danger of the
 law: otherwise if this Bellamies brother had had an
 innocent conscience, he would never with violence
 have hanged himselfe.

The Papist's
 faire our La-
 dies house
 was by mira-
 cle brought
 from Ierusalem
 into Italia.

Jeremie
 Bellamy
 Bent.
 executed.

One of the
 Bellamies
 hanged him-
 selfe in the
 Tower.

are thus cutte off: but if his prouidence p[ro]uident not
the mischieses, it is to be feared that of the root there
will grow many other, apt to bring forth the fruit
of publique disturbance.

VValk. In very truth, necessitie hath made the
bloody deuices of the Scottish Q. so common, as no
good subject may iustly be forbidden, to deriue the
cause, both of forraigne, and domestike conspiracies
from her vnprincipally heart: our sacred Q. Elizabeths
mercy hath many yeares contended with a number
of fearful admonitions, to preserve both the life and
honor of this most bekinde queen: when the Scottes
her own people pursued her life, and printed her de-
faunt, the Queenes Maestie entertained her, as Au-
gustus did his enemye Cinna: she gaue her her life,
that many waies sought her own life: and was so
carefull of her honour, that she forbade the howkes of
her faults, to be conuersant among her english sub-
iects, which almost in euery other nation were made
vulgar: but Cinna after three times forgiveness, be-
came (none so) faithful to Augustus: when this Scot-
tish Queene, being three times thus forgiven, remai-
neth (none more) bloodily infected to Queene Eliza-
beth: her own hand writings be witnessles. During
the whole course of her abode in Eng. which may be
properly called a protection, and no imprisonment:
ther is nothing more manifest, then that her mallice
thirsted the death of her own life. The currantes of
her practises were so general, as euery good christi-
an prince know as much, and certified her Maestie
no lesse: in fine, seeing y^e her proceedings were not on-
ly against the person of her Maestie, but that they

also

Bookes writ-
ten against
the Scottish
Q. forbidden
in England.

executed

of the Scottish Queen.

at Fodderingay.

also reached to the change of christia religion: some zealous members of the Church of God, in publique writing did set downe, the danger of her Ma-
iesties mercye: and in christian pollicy shewed by many waightie reasons, that God deliuered the
Scottish Queen vnto the sword of her iustice, as he did many Idolatrous Princes, into the handes of the Kinges of Israell: but our most gracious queen notwithstanding these continual aduertismentes, with a magnanimous heart digested all this danger: yea, she was so farre from reuenge, as she yielded not to make her subiects partakers of the
foraine counsels, whom next vnder her, they principally concerned: Lastly, when the continual importunities of her louing Subiects, by all the Estates of Parliament, tyred her Maiestie with petitions to proceed to the sentence of her own lawes, her clemency found out delay, when Justice would admit no excuse: but the delaye of execution proved so dangerous, as the safety of h Quenes Ma-
iestie (was in iudgement of the wisest) held desperate, so long as the Scottish Queen liued: & (therefore) to the vnspeakable griefe of h Quenes Ma-
iestie: though (otherwise) to the vniuersall ioy and desire of her subiectes, Justice was executed vpon this vngodly Quene, vpon Wednesday, the 8. of
Februarie 1586.

The Lord be praised: who is the protector of our gracious Queen and al her good subiects, and who (hether to) with his holy hand hath giuen her these peaceable victories, so wonderfully, as al h world is occupied with the admiration thereof, & that the

A booke long
since written
in french to
sentence the
bloody Pro-
ceedings of
the Scottish
Q with death

The Scot-
tish Q. ex-
ecuted on
wednes-
day, the 8.
of Feb.

1586.

The Scottish Queen executed.

Iame God may blesse her highnesse, with a long & peaceable life. I beseech you accompany me to the Church, where with thankful heartes, we may praise him for many receiued benefites, and with zealous spirittes, humbly pray for the continuance of the same.

Well, With right good will we are ready to accompany you, and God for his sonnes sake ether turne the mindes of those that miswilly her Maestie. or speedely bring them to the shame and confusion of these Traitors before named, that haue woorthely suffered for their most odious treasons. Amen.

FINIS.



*From a volume of
the collection
of Sir David Lindsay
1595*

